

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-16

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 EA-11 ISO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6426

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ISLAMABAD 8156

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PK

SUBJ: PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY -- QUARTERLY ASSESSMENT

SUMMARY: THE PAST THREE MONTHS HAVE BEEN A TROUBLED AND

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UNEASY PERIOD IN PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS. PROGRESS

TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH INDIA AND BANGLADESH STALLED. THE EXPLOSION BY THE INDIANS OF A NUCLEAR DEVICE SHOOK PAKISTAN, HEIGHTENING ITS SENSE OF INSECURITY IN A SUBCONTINENT IT SHARES WITH A NEIGHBOR WHOSE PREDOMINANCE IT FEARS AND RESENTS AND WHOSE INTENTIONS IT PROFOUNDLY MISTRUSTS. UPSET BY THE EVENT, THE GOP BECAME EVEN MORE PRONE TO VIEW ITS PROBLEMS IN TERMS OF CONSPIRACIES ON THE PART OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC FORCES IT CONSIDERS UNRECONCILED TO ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. TIES WITH AFGHANISTAN, STRAINED BY PRESIDENT DAUD'S STRESS ON THE PUKHTUNISTAN ISSUE, DETERIORATED BADLY AMID A WELTER OF ACCUSATIONS AND COUNTER-ACCUSTATIONS AND AN APPARENT READINESS ON THE PART OF BOTH SIDES TO BELIEVE THE WORST ABOUT EACH OTHER'S MOTIVES AND INTENTIONS. ALREADY COOL, IF CORRECT, RELATIONS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND THE SOVIET UNION WERE CHILLED FURTHER BY PAK SUSPICION OF SOVIET COMPLICITY IN ALLEGED INDO-AFGHAN PLOTS AND THE POSTPONEMENT BY THE RUSSIANS OF PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S SCHEDULED JULY VISIT TO MOSCOW. THE PAKS CONTINUED TO VIEW PEKING AS THEIR FIRMEST FRIEND, AND CLAIMED THEY HAD ASSURANCES OF A CHINESE NUCLEAR UMBRELLA TO MEET THE INDIAN THREAT. US-PAK RELATIONS REMAINED ON A RELATIVELY EVEN KEEL DESPITE GROWING GOP IMPATIENCE WITH THE USG'S DISCRIMINATORY ARMS SUPPLY POLICY. DEVELOPMENTS IN PAK RELATIONS WITH INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN WILL BE KEY AREAS TO WATCH IN COMING MONTHS. N BASIC CHANGES IN PAK RELATIONS WITH THE GREAT POWERS ARE ANTICIPATED. END SUMMARY.

1. INDIA. THE DOMINANT DEVELOPMENT OF THE PERIOD IN STRUCTURING PAKISTAN'S APPROACH TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS WAS THE EXPLOSION BY INDIA OF A NUCLEAR DEVICE ON MAY 18. THE EVEN HEIGHTENED PAKISTAN'S SENSE OF INSECURITY IN A SUBCONTINENT IT SHARES WITH A NEIGHBOR WHOSE PREDOMINANCE IT FEARS AND RESENTS AND WHOSE INTENTIONS IT PROFOUNDLY MISTRUSTS. FEW IF ANY PAKISTANIS ACCEPTED THE GOI CLAIM THAT ITS NUCLEAR PROGRAM HAD EXCLUSIVELY PEACEFUL PURPOSES.

2. IMMEDIATE CASUALTY OF EXPLOSION WAS NEXT ROUND OF INDO-PAK TALKS DESIGNED TO LEAD TO EVENTUAL NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. ONLY IN AUGUST, AFTER THE PRIME MINISTER HAD JUDGED THAT THE PASSAGE OF TIME, THE RESULTS OF HIS  
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DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES, AND HIS OWN EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS HAD BROUGHT PUBLIC OPINION TO THE POINT WHERE NORMALIZATION NEGOTIATIONS WERE POLITICALLY FEASIBLE, DID THE GOP MOVE TO RESCHEDULE THE TALKS.

3. MAJOR INGREDIENT IN PM'S EFFORTS TO WIN RENEWED PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE FOR FURTHER STEPS TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF INDO-PAK RELATIONS WAS HIS CLAIM THAT PAKS WERE STRONG ENOUGH

AND HAD SUFFICIENT SUPPORT ABROAD TO NEGOTIATE SUCCESSFULLY WITH A NUCLEAR INDIA. FOLLOWING INDIAN PNE ANNOUNCEMENT, GOP HAD LAUNCHED DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE TO OBTAIN NUCLEAR GUARANTEES, DISCOURAGE GOI DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND IMPROVE PAK MILITARY DETERRENT CAPABILITIES. ALTHOUGH THE OUTCOME OF MUCH OF THIS EFFORT MUST HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTING TO THE GOP, IT WAS ABLE TO CLAIM (ON WHAT EVIDENCE WE ARE UNAWARE) THAT IT HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCES OF A "NUCLEAR UMBRELLA" FROM PEKING.

4. THE INDIAN EXPLOSION AND THE IMPACT IT HAD ON PAK SELF-CONFIDENCE STILL NOT FULLY RECOVERED FROM THE TRAUMA OF 1971 HEIGHTENED THE UNDERSTANDABLE TENDENCY OF A COUNTRY WHICH CONSIDERS ITSELF BESET BY UNFRIENDLY NEIGHBORS TO VIEW EVENTS IN TERMS OF CONSPIRACIES AGAINST IT. ALLEGATIONS ON LIMITED EVIDENCE OF COORDINATED INDIAN AND AFGHAN TROOP MOVEMENTS AND AN ALLEGED CONNECTION BETWEEN EVENTS IN IDNIA-CONTROLLED KASHMIR AND DOMESTIC PROBLEMS IN PAKISTAN WERE TWO OF MANY CHARGES LEVELLED DURING THE PERIOD. THE TENDENCY WAS FURTHER HEIGHTENED BY THE ONSET OF DIFFICULTIES AT HOME, NOTABLY THE DISTURBANCES OVER THE STATUS OF THE HETERODOX MUSLIM AHMADIYA SECT, A WORSENING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RULING PARTY AND THE BALUCHISTAN- AND FRONTIER PROVINCE-BASED NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY, AND ECONOMIC CONCERNS.

5. BANGLADESH. ANOTHER PROMISING EARLIER DEVELOPMENT, MOVES TOWARD THE FURTHER NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH BANGLADESH, ALSO STALLED. ALTHOUGH THE GOP SOUGHT TO PUT A GOOD FACE ON THE PM'S LATE JUNE DISCUSSIONS WITH MUBIB IN DACCA, STRESSING THE WARM POPULAR RECEPTION BHUTO HAD RECEIVED THERE, THE TWO SIDES APPEAR TO HUVÉ APPROACHED THE TALKS ON DIFFERENT WAVE LENGTHS AND THE RESULT WAS A DEADLOCK. THE GOP WAS DISMAYED BY WHAT IT CONSIDERED THE CONFIDENTIAL

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BENGALEES' HARSH AND UNREALISTIC POSITION ON THE ISSUES OF THE DIVISION OF PRE-1971 ASSETS AND LIABILITIES AND FURTHER REPATRIATION OF BIHARIS. IT MAINTAINS IT IS UNWILLING TO PAY "THE BDG'S PRICE" FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS (HOWEVER IT MIGHT THINK SUCH TIES WILL DISOMFIT THE INDIANS). RELATIONS NOW SEEM ON DEAD CENTER AND THE RECENT GOP ANNOUNCEMENT OF A RICE AND COTTON YARN DONATION APPEARS TO HAVE HAD NO BENEFICIAL EFFECT.

6. AFGHANISTAN. RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN DETERIORATED SERIOUSLY AMID A WELTER OF ACCUSATIONS AND COUNTERACCUSATIONS AND AN APPARENT READINESS ON THE PART OF BOTH SIDES TO BELIEVE THE WORST OF ONE ANOTHER. ILL WILL, SUSPICION, AND INVECTIVE EXACERBATED FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN A GOA COMMITTED TO SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PUSHTU AREAS WITHIN

PAKISTAN AND A GOP ENGAGED IN EFFORTS TO BRING THE TRIBALS  
OF THESE BORDER AREAS INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF PAKISTAN  
ECONOMIC, SOCIAL , AND POLITICAL LIFE.

7. THOUGH PROBABLY NOT REFLECTING ANY DELIBERATE DESIRE  
TO DO SO, BHUTTO'S TOURS OF THE NWFP AND BALUCHISTAN IN  
JULY/AUGUST CONTRIBUTED TO THE WORSENING OF RELATIONS.  
SPEAKING TO UNSOPHISTICATED TRIBAL AUDIENCES IN BLACK  
AND WHITE TERMS, THE PM CASTIGATED AND RIDUCULED GOA CLAIMS  
AND WENT ON THE COUNTEROFFENSIVE TO DENIGRATE POLITICAL  
AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN AFGHANISTAN ITSELF. ALTHOUGH  
BHUTTO ALSO OFFERED THE GOA THE OLIVE BRANCH OF A NO-WAR  
PACT OR SIMLA-TYPE AGREEMENT, PROVIDED THE AFGHANS GAVE  
UP THEIR PUKHTUNISTAN CLAIMS AND STOPPED INTERFERING IN  
PAK INTERNAL AFFAIRS, NO RESPONSIBLE GOP OFFICIAL EXPECTED  
THAT THE OFFER WOULD BE TAKEN UP. SO FAR THEY HAVE BEEN

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RIGHT.

8. PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS ALSO BECAME EMBROILED IN DOMESTIC POLITICS. GOP OFFICIALS FOUND CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE AFGHANS AND THE NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY'S ALLEGED INVOLVEMENT IN BOMB-THROWING ACTIVITIES. MORE BROADLY, THEY SOUGHT TO ISOLATE THE PARTY FROM THE OPPOSITIONIST MAINSTREAM BY  
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DEPICTING IT AND MORE PARTICULARLY ITS LEADER, WALI KHAN, AS SECESSIONISTS IN LEAGUE WITH AFGHANISTAN. BHUTTO WAS PARTICULARLY HARSH IN HIS TREATMENT OF WALI, LINKING HIM WITH AN AFGHAN-INDIAN CONSPIRACY AGAINST PAKISTAN.

9. BHUTTO'S PUBLIC POSITIONS REFLECT HIS DEEPENING CONCERN WITH AFGHAN ACTIVITIES. HE APPEARS CONVINCED THAT THERE IS AMPLE PROOF OF AFGHAN SUBVERSION OR ATTEMPTED SUBVERSION WITHIN THE FRONTIER AREAS AND EVIDENCE THAT AFGHAN TROOPS ARE BEING TRAINED FOR GUERRILLA OPERATIONS IN PAKISTAN. HE ALSO BELIEVES THAT THE AFGHANS WERE BEHIND AN APPARENT ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT AGAINST HIM DURING HIS TOUR OF BALUCHISTAN. HE IS DISAPPOINTED THAT HIS EFFORTS LAST YEAR TO ESTABLISH GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE NEW AFGHAN REPUBLICAN REGIME HAVE FOUNDERED. AT THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, HE DOES NOT WANT EVENTS TO GET OUT OF HAND AND IS SEEKING TO KEEP CHANNELS BETWEEN ISLAMABAD AND KABUL OPEN WITH THIS IN VIEW.

10. IRAN. FRIENDSHIP WITH IRAN REMAINS A CARDINAL TENET OF PAKISTAN FOREIGN POLICY. THIS HAD BEEN JARRED EARLIER IN THE YEAR BY GOP CONCERN OVER IRAN'S RAPPROCHEMENT WITH INDIA AND THE SHAH'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BHUTTO-SPONSORED ISLAMIC SUMMIT AT LAHORE. WHILE PAK OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO BE UNHAPPY WITH BURGEONING TIES BETWEEN TEHRAN AND NEW DELHI, THEY HAVE AVOIDED PUBLIC COMMENT IN DEFERENCE TO THE SHAH'S WELL-KNOWN SENSITIVITIES. WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME AND THE ABSENCE SINCE PRIME MINISTER GANDHI'S LATE APRIL/EARLY MAY VISIT OF ANY FURTHER DRAMATIC DEVELOPMENTS SEEMINGLY DETRIMENTAL TO PAK INTERESTS, THE GOP MAY BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT SOMEWHAT MORE EASILY THE NEW REALITIES OF THE SHAH'S BALANCED APPROACH TO SOUTH ASIA.

11. THE PAKS HAVE MANY REASONS TO DO SO. THE ANNOUNCEMENT IN JULY OF MASSIVE IRANIAN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WAS A REASSURING INDICATION TO THE GOP THAT IN MOVING CLOSER TO INDIA THE SHAH WAS NOT ABANDONING PAKISTAN, AND UNDERScoreD THE IMPORTANCE OF IRAN AS A SOURCE OF LARGESSE. CONTINUING INSURGENCY IN BALUCHISTAN ALSO MAKES IRANIAN SUPPORT THERE IMPORTANT -- THE GOI IS AGAIN LOANING THE PAKS HELICOPTERS FOR USE IN THE AREA. PAKISTAN ALSO SEES THE CLOSER TIES DEVELOPING BETWEEN THE GOI AND AFGHANUSTAN AS A MODERATING

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INFLUENCE ON AFGHAN INTRANSIGENCE.

12.CHINA. THERE WERE SUBTLE CHANGES IN GOP RELATIONS WITH THE MAJOR POWERS, BUT BASIC RELATIONSHIPS REMAINED MUCH THE SAME. PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA STAYED FIRM, AND BHUTTO MADE MUCH OF WHAT HE CLAIMED WAS PEKING'S NUCLEAR GUARANTEE AGAINST INDIA, CITING THIS AS A KEY ELEMENT IN MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR PAKISTAN TO RESUME ITS NEGOTIATIONS WITH INDIA WITH CONFIDENCE. JUST HOW FIRM AND COMPREHENSIVE THE ASSURANCES ARE IS QUESTIONABLE, BUT IF THE PAKISTANIS ARE NOT FULLY SATISFIED WITH THE CHINESE REACTION TO THEIR POST-PNE DIPLOMATIC APPROACHES THEY HAVE BEEN VERY CAREFUL NOT TO DISCLOSE IT. ON THE CONTRARY, THEIR PUBLIC INTERPRETATION OF PEKING'S ATTITUDE MADE CHINA SEEM EVEN MORE THAN EVER PAKISTAN'S CLOSEST AND MOST RELIABLE FRIEND.

13. SOVIET UNION. ALREADY COOL, IF CORRECT, RELATIONS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND THE SOVIET UNION WERE CHILLED FURTHER BY PAK SUSPICION OF SOVIET COMPLICITY IN ALLEGED INDO-AFGHAN PLOTS AND THE POSTPONEMENT BY THE RUSSIANS OF BHUTTO'S SCHEDULED JULY VISIT TO MOSCOW. THE POSTPONEMENT HAS DELAYED THE EXPECTED REDEFINING OF PAK-SOVIET RELATIONS. IN THE MEANTIME, THE PRIME MINISTER REMAINS VERY MUCH PREOCCUPIED WITH SOVIET INTENTIONS AND THE GOP IS CONCERNED THAT THE BHUTTO VISIT POSTPONEMENT MAY REFLECT SOME NEW THRUST IN SOVIET POLICY TOWARD PAKISTAN. FOR THE MOST PART PUBLIC GOP EXPRESSION HAS CONTINUED TO FOCUS ON SATISFACTION WITH SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF PAKISTAN'S INTEGRITY AND DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE USSR.

14. THE UNITED STATES. US-PAK RELATIONS REMAINED ON A RELATIVELY EVEN KEEL. PAK IMPATIENCE WITH CONTINUED USG DELAY IN REVISING ITS ARMS SUPPLY POLICY GREW. IT WAS HEIGHTENED BY THE INDIAN PNE, AND BHUTTO AGAIN WENT PUBLIC IN EARLY JULY IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES TO CALL FOR A POLICY CHANGE. THE PAKS ALSO SEEMED TO FEEL THAT THEIR CONCERNS WERE BEING IGNORED IN OFFICIAL WASHINGTON, AND APPEARED SOMEWHAT NERVOUS ABOUT EFFORTS TO IMPROVE

US-INDIAN RELATIONS. THERE WAS ALSO SOME CONCERN THAT THE  
FORD ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE LESS ATTENTIVE TO PAKISTAN  
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THAN ITS PREDECESSOR, AND ASSURANCES OF CONTINUITY IN THE  
USG APPROACH TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS WERE GRATEFULLY  
RECEIVED. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, WE HAVE HAD TO TELL THE  
PAKS THAT THEIR HOPES FOR PL-480 COMMODITIES AND CCC CREDITS  
ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE FULLY MET.

15. THIRD WORLD AND MUSLIM NATIONS. THE ONSET OF THE HOT  
SEASON IN PAKISTAN, WITH ITS CONSEQUENT CUTBACK  
IN OFFICIAL VISITS, AND THE ABSENCE OF THE UNGA FROM NEW  
YORK REDUCED THE POSSIBILITIES FOR PAKISTAN TO PRESS ITS  
EFFORTS TO BECOME A LEADING SPOKESMAN AMONG THIRD-WORLD  
COUNTRIES. THIS CONTINUES TO BE AN IMPORTANT GOAL, NEVER-  
THELESS. IN THE MUSLIM WORLD, THE GOP SOUGHT TO FOLLOW  
UP ITS SUCCESSES AT LAHORE BY PLAYING AN ACTIVE ROLE AT  
THE KUALA LUMPUR ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE.  
IT SUCCEEDED IN GETTING A WATERED-DOWN RESOLUTION PASSED  
ON THE INDIAN PNE. THE GOP ASSURED TURKEY OF FULL SUPPORT  
AND SOLIDARITY FOLLOWING ITS JULY INTERVENTION IN THE CYPRUS  
DISPUTE AND SENT MEDICAL SUPPLIES. SUPPORT FOR OTHER MUSLIM  
CUASES IN SUCH PLACES AS THE MIDEAST AND SPANISH SAHARA  
REMAINED STANDARD FARE.

16. PROGNOSIS. DEVELOPMENTS IN PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH  
INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN WILL BE KEY AREAS TO WATCH IN COMING  
MONTHS. TALKS WITH INDIA ARE TO BE HELD BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 12.  
FORMAL DISCUSSIONS WILL INVOLVE RESTORATION OF TELECOMMU-  
NICATIONS AND TRAVEL FACILITIES; THE GOP HAS EXPRESSED  
CONFIDENCE THAT THESE MATTERS CAN BE SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVED.  
GOP WILLINGNESS TO PROGRESS BEYOND THIS COULD BE INHIBITED  
BY DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIAN-CONTROLLED KASHMIR, PARTICULARLY  
THE WORKING OUT OF AN ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE GOI AND THE  
PLEBISCITE FRONT LEADERSHIP WHICH FALLS SHORT OF THE LONG-  
STANDING GOP INSISTENCE ON A PLEBISCITE. PROBLEMS AT HOME --  
NOTABLY THE RECURRENCE OF THE AHMADIYA DISTURBANCES -- COULD  
ALSO SHARPLY LIMIT BHUTTO'S INFLEXIBILITY IN MOVING TOWARD  
FURTHER NORMALIZATION. THE GOP'S MOVES ON THE AFGHAN FRONT  
ARE DIFFICULT TO FORECAST. A RECENT ENCOURAGING FACTOR HAS  
BEEN BHUTTO'S FORTHCOMING MOVE TO ASSURE THAT PAKISTAN'S NEW  
AMBASSADOR TO KABUL IS SOMEONE WITH WHOM THE AFGHANS CAN  
SUCCESSFULLY WORK. BUT THE ANTAGONISM WHICH NOW BEDEVILS  
PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS WILL NOT BE RESOLVED UNTIL THE GOA IS  
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WILLING TO PLAY DOWN ITS PUKHTUNISTAN CLAIMS AND REDUCE ITS  
ACTIVITY ON THE PAK SIDE OF THE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED  
DURAND LINE BOUNDARY TO A LEVEL ACCEPTABLE TO THE GOP.

17. THE GOP WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS ITS DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO  
OBTAIN A GREATER MEASURE OF SECURITY IN THE WAKE OF THE INDIAN  
PNE. THIS WILL INCLUDE A FURTHER CALL FOR A CHANGE IN USG  
ARMS SUPPLY POLICY, LIKELY PRIME SUBJECT PAKS WILL RAISE DURING  
THE SECRETARY'S VISIT HERE (UNLESS IT IS RESOLVED BY THEN).  
SOVIET-PAK TIES ARE LIKELY TO BE CLARIFIED AND PERHAPS  
SOMEWHAT IMPROVED BY BHUTTO'S VISIT TO MOSCOW, NOW EXPECTED  
IN OCTOBER, BUT NO EARLY BASIC CHANGES IN GOP RELATIONS  
WITH THE GREAT POWERS ARE ANTICIPATED.  
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## Message Attributes

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